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# Japanese Immigration

ITS STATUS IN CALIFORNIA



PREPARED BY

YAMATO ICHIHASHI, A. M.

Formerly a Special Agent of the  
United States Immigration Commission



PUBLISHED BY

THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

1913



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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CAL.,

March 31, 1913.

*To Whom It May Concern:*

Mr. Yamato Ichihashi is preparing a pamphlet on the Japanese question on the Pacific Coast. I wish to say in his behalf that he is entirely competent to give a just and thorough treatment of this subject. He is a graduate of Stanford University, where he was for a time assistant in the Department of Economics. He spent two years at Harvard University, where he was appointed Henry Bromfield Rogers Memorial Fellow. He has a very thorough knowledge of America, and American conditions, as well as of the purposes, ambitions and resources of his own country, and his essay should be of the greatest value in bringing about a better understanding where there is every reason for friendship and none whatever for suspicion and enmity.

Very truly yours,

*David Starr Jordan*



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# Japanese Immigration

## ITS STATUS IN CALIFORNIA

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### INTRODUCTORY.

In 1907 an "informal agreement" was entered into between the American and Japanese governments, whereby immigration to this country, of laborers directly from Japan as well as migration of Japanese from Hawaii, Canada and Mexico, is prohibited. And notwithstanding a most effective administration by Japan of the said agreement, agitation against Japanese has not ceased. It is vigorous as ever, if not more so than it was before the restriction was put in practice.

In view of such situation, it is deemed advisable that the intelligent Americans should be furnished with facts pertaining to Japanese immigration and its present status, so that they themselves can better judge the whole question rather than to have it interpreted by the Asiatic Exclusion League and other interested persons. With such an end in view, I have undertaken to prepare the present pamphlet. It purposes to be no more than an unbiased statement of the more obvious facts concerning Japanese immigration and its status in this State of California.

As to the sources upon which the pamphlet is based, I may be permitted to say first of all that I have taken a keen but objective interest in the question ever since 1900, when it seemed to assume an acuteness. Added to this fact, I worked as a "Special Agent" for the United States Immigration Commission of 1907. The Commission made an exhaustive inquiry into the general

question of immigration throughout the country. My particular function as its agent was to look into the Japanese immigration situation here in the State and thus I had an ample opportunity to familiarize myself with the subject. The results of that investigation are now made public. In addition to this information, I have relied upon such sources as the Annual Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, the Biennial Report of the State Bureau of Labor, and not the least in importance, the facts gathered by a "Special State Investigation of 1909," which also made an extensive study of the "Japanese Question."

## PART I.

### HISTORY AND EXTENT OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

Just when Japanese began to come to this country is pretty difficult to determine. It is certain, however, that under the rule of Tokugawa dynasty, emigration from Japan was prohibited under the pain of death, or more precisely since the adoption by it of the policy of exclusion and inclusion in 1638 till 1868. There was no emigration. True, in 1854 Japan entered into a commercial treaty with the United States and subsequently with various European powers, but that fact did not alter the Japanese policy in regard to emigration. In 1868 the Tokugawa government was overthrown and the present Imperial government was simultaneously installed. The new government was radical, indeed, revolutionary. Thus among other things, emigration was no longer put under the ban. Emigration became possible though emigration of laborers was not legalized till 1885.

Yet, curiously enough, the Report of the U. S. Treasury Department for 1893 mentions that between 1861 and 1870 218 Japanese came to this country. That this was likely true is evidenced by several other facts. Joseph Heco, a boy apprentice aboard a Japanese vessel plying between Osaka and Yedo (Tokio), which was wrecked, was rescued along with other members of the crew and brought over to America. That was in 1850. Heco remained in the United States for more than a decade and had romantic experiences. These are interestingly told in his "Narrative of a Japanese." The book incidentally gives accounts of innumerable cases of Japanese cast-offs rescued and brought over, just as he was, to this country between 1850 and 1864. In 1866 there came to New York two of Dr. Verbeck's students, the veteran Dutch missionary to Japan. In 1868 some forty Japanese were brought to California by a Dutchman named Schnael(?). Dr. Nitobe in his "Intercourse Between the United States and Japan," gives evidences of Japanese migration from Hawaii to the continent as early as in 1870.

According to the reports of the United States Superintendent and, later of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration the number of Japanese immigrants and that of entire immigrants, who annually entered the country since 1869 was as follows:

Year.	No. of Japanese Immigrants.	No. of Total Immigrants.
1869 .....	63	352,000
1870 .....	48	387,000
1871 .....	78	321,000
1872 .....	17	404,000
1873 .....	9	459,000
1874 .....	21	313,000
1875 .....	3	227,000
1876 .....	4	169,000
1877 .....	7	141,000
1878 .....	2	138,000
1879 .....	4	177,000
1880 .....	4	457,000
1881 .....	11	669,000
1882 .....	5	788,000
1883 .....	27	603,000
1884 .....	20	518,000
1885 .....	49	395,000
1886 .....	194	334,000
1887 .....	229	490,000
1888 .....	404	546,000
1889 .....	640	444,000
1890 .....	691	455,000
1891 .....	1,136	560,000
1892 .....	1,498	579,000
1893 .....	1,648	439,000
1894 .....	1,739	285,000
1895 .....	480	258,000
1896 .....	1,110	343,000
1897 .....	1,526	230,000
1898 .....	2,230	229,000
1899 .....	2,844	311,000
1900 .....	6,618	448,000
1901 .....	4,931	487,000
1902 .....	5,025	648,000
1903 .....	6,923	857,000
1904 .....	7,674	812,000
1905 .....	3,638	1,026,000
1906 .....	8,636	1,100,000
1907 .....	10,230	1,285,000
1908 .....	9,544	782,000
1909 .....	3,111	751,000
1910 .....	2,720	1,041,000
1911 .....	4,282	878,000

In other words, the respective number of their immigration by decades was as follows:

Decade.	No. of Japanese Immigrants.	No. of Total Immigrants.
1861-1870 .....	218	2,314,000
1871-1880 .....	149	2,812,000
1881-1890 .....	2,270	5,246,000
1891-1900 .....	20,826	3,687,000
1901-1910 .....	62,432	8,785,000
Total .....	85,985	22,846,000

The figures concerning Japanese immigration do not include those who migrated from Hawaii after its annexation. Thus it may be proper to add to the total of 85,895 15,000 more or thereabouts to cover the extent of that migration. Even on such a basis it is clearly manifest that Japanese immigration has formed but a negligibly insignificant portion of general immigration.

In the earlier years, in fact, till we come to 1886, their annual immigration was less than one hundred. Since then their number gradually increased. This was due to two causes: Emigration of laborers was legalized in 1885 and the demand for their labor in California increased as the result of the Chinese exclusion laws. In 1891 the number reached over one thousand for the first time. About the same number immigrated for the following six years. And in 1898 it reached over 2,000. In 1900 as many as 6,618 came. But the number never exceeded 10,000 but once in the entire period. That was in 1907 and the excess was by 230 only. That unusual phenomenon was undoubtedly caused by the anticipation of the agreement of 1907, which, as remarked before, practically put a stop to immigration of Japanese laborers. When that agreement became effective the number instantly dropped, as is indicated by the table.

Next, a word may be said as to the extent of Japanese departure from this country. The Immigration Bureau made no record of returning aliens till very recently. Fortunately, however, the Japanese government has been recording the returning immigrants. According to this authority, the number of Japanese who had annually returned from the United States and the per-

centage these formed of the number who had emigrated to the same since 1886 was as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Year.	Number.	Percentage.
1886 .....	70	36.0
1887 .....	65	28.3
1888 .....	67	16.5
1889 .....	76	11.8
1890 .....	73	10.5
1891 .....	168	14.7
1892 .....	343	16.2
1893 .....	356	21.6
1894 .....	391	22.4
1895 .....	347	72.2
1896 .....	367	33.0
1897 .....	388	25.4
1898 .....	671	30.0
1899 .....	833	29.2
1900 .....	1,006	15.2
1901 .....	866	17.5
1902 .....	1,013	20.0
1903 .....	1,028	14.8
1904 .....	922	12.0
1905 .....	1,791	49.3
1906 .....	2,881	33.3
1907 .....	1,903	18.6
1908 .....	5,493	57.7
1909 .....	4,538	145.8
1910 .....	5,101	187.5

In my mind the table is not without omissions. But if it can be used to indicate the phenomenon, about 20 per cent of the emigrants has been annually returning to Japan. The higher percentage for 1895 and 1896 was due to non-emigration rather than to the actual number returning. The same situation for 1905, however, was partly caused by the large number returning and partly by the fall in the number emigrating. The curious situation that has obtained since 1908 was wholly due to the effective administration of the agreement of 1907.

Having examined the extent of Japanese immigrating and departing, we will now direct our attention to their number residing in the country. According to the United States census the number of Japanese residents was as follows:

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1870 .....	55	1900 .....	24,326.
1880 .....	148	1910 .....	71,722
1890 .....	2,039		

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the figures given in Imperial Statistical Annuals of Japan, 1886-1910, inclusive.

I have tried to estimate the probable number for the intercensal years since 1890, which is shown below:<sup>1</sup>

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1890 .....	2,039	1901 .....	28,391
1891 .....	2,907	1902 .....	32,403
1892 .....	4,162	1903 .....	38,288
1893 .....	5,454	1904 .....	53,764
1894 .....	6,802	1905 .....	61,144
1895 .....	7,935	1906 .....	66,899
1896 .....	8,678	1907 .....	75,226
1897 .....	9,816	1908 .....	79,277
1898 .....	11,375	1909 .....	77,850
1899 .....	13,386	1910 .....	75,469
1900 .....	24,326		

Thus according to the census there were only 55 Japanese residing in the whole country in 1870. That number increased to 148 in 1880. A decade later it reached to 2,039. During the next decade Japanese immigration was quite extensive, and consequently the number residing in the country increased also. In 1898 the number was no more than 11,400, but two years later that number jumped to 24,000. The growth during the last decade was more significant. There were as many as 75,000 Japanese in 1910. The largest number residing, however, was in 1908, it being nearly 80,000. So much, then, for the history and extent of Japanese immigration during the past fifty years.

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<sup>1</sup> Calculated on the basis of the number immigrating and departing. Since some of these figures are not very accurate, the estimate should not be rigidly interpreted.

## PART II.

### CHARACTER OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS.

We will begin with an examination of the occupation of the immigrants. According to the Japanese official statistics the occupational distribution of the immigrants when they left Japan was as follows:<sup>1</sup>

YEAR	NUMBER						
	Students	Merchants	Farmers and Fishermen	Artisans	Laborers	Others	Total
1886.....	237	38	....	3	44	10	332
1887.....	267	96	....	....	88	9	461
1888.....	196	171	....	13	184	35	599
1889.....	224	150	....	5	350	29	757
1890.....	198	172	....	15	184	42	1,461
1891.....	232	275	1	33	246	674	1,461
1892.....	239	373	860	427	291	154	2,344
1893.....	220	492	404	147	340	375	1,978
1894.....	182	236	593	94	254	138	1,497
1895.....	193	297	30	5	424	100	1,049
1896.....	211	360	8	23	1,066	96	1,764
1897.....	244	390	527	84	6,008	102	1,945
1898.....	325	805	135	11	1,287	373	2,936
1899.....	481	1,882	87	170	3,742	580	6,936
1900.....	437	2,159	1,463	1,540	4,366	597	10,562
1901.....	508	627	39	12	83	717	1,986
1902.....	1,283	1,531	96	51	249	1,886	5,096
1903.....	1,340	1,745	87	50	223	1,767	5,215
1904.....	1,267	1,009	....	43	261	1,010	3,490
1905.....	868	613	167	17	263	1,376	3,124
1906.....	2,821	1,215	1,046	22	462	2,896	8,466
1907.....	2,972	1,246	1,571	20	664	3,155	9,618
1908.....	382	592	837	28	534	639	3,826

Again, according to the American official statistics the occupational distribution of Japanese immigrants since 1908 was as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the figures given in Imperial Statistical Annuals of Japan, 1886-1910, inclusive.

OCCUPATIONS OF JAPANESE ADMITTED AND DEPARTED,  
FISCAL YEARS 1908 TO 1911.<sup>1</sup>

OCCUPATION	1908		1909		1910		1911	
	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed	Admitted	Departed
Actors.....	54	6	10	20	27	14	16	13
Clergy.....	37	18	14	25	21	18	20	24
Government officials.....	45	34	45	42	28	68	51	56
Teachers.....	50	16	24	15	24	41	56	41
Other professional	70	143	65	94	162	83	101	151
Clerks.....	154	66	56	64	109	42	87	66
Farmers.....	518	698	69	492	95	551	388	669
Merchants.....	951	578	274	552	291	687	304	564
Restaurant and hotel keepers...	130	70	64	67	68	116	52	145
Students.....	2,018	153	255	239	288	260	.....	.....
No occupation, including women and children...	1,299	832	690	747	695	889	2,400	1,188
Not stated.....	177	119	153	684	85	48	75	21
Total non-laborers, according to Rule 21i....	5,503	2,733	1,719	3,041	1,893	2,817	3,550	2,938
Barbers.....	28	11	9	12	9	18	22	24
Carpenters.....	27	21	12	25	7	17	19	35
Tailors.....	36	38	5	7	8	11	13	18
Other artisans....	99	164	7	66	59	49	57	160
Cooks.....	96	69	60	148	77	161	.....	.....
Farm laborers....	1,031	60	206	246	260	612	281	994
Gardeners.....	18	10	6	13	5	5	13	12
Laborers.....	1,153	1,077	245	344	165	1,156	208	1,094
Servants.....	305	300	114	133	90	112	63	149
Not stated.....	1,248	313	49	969	25	63	56	445
Total laborers, according to Rule 21i.....	4,041	2,063	713	1,963	705	2,207	732	2,931
Total.....	9,544	4,796	2,432	5,004	2,598	5,024	4,282	5,869

According to the first table, during the first six years students numbered 1,354, tradesmen 902, and laborers 1,096, respectively. Legalization of emigration of laborers from Japan in 1885 did not evidently affect Japanese emigration to America. In fact, till we come to the year 1896 when the number of labor emigrants was over 1,000, laborers did not contribute to Japanese immi-

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1909 and 1911.

gration to this country. To make this fact plain I have given below the percentage of the emigrants by occupation for the entire period considered:

Occupation.	Percentage.
Merchants . . . . .	21.5
Laborers . . . . .	21.4
Students . . . . .	21.1
Farmers and fishermen . . . . .	14.1
Artisans . . . . .	3.8
Others . . . . .	18.1
Total . . . . .	100.0

According to the American statistics we note that the number of labor immigrants had been greatly curtailed. Note, at the same time, the large number of laborers departing from the country. The phenomena are the outcome of the agreement of 1907. Such then were the occupations of Japanese immigrants when they left Japan and when they were admitted into the country.

Next, as to the sex distribution among Japanese immigrants. The following table gives the proportion of females among Japanese immigrants:<sup>1</sup>

Year.	Percentage.	Year.	Percentage.
1886 . . . . .	3.9	1899 . . . . .	5.8
1887 . . . . .	3.4	1900 . . . . .	3.8
1888 . . . . .	9.0	1901 . . . . .	6.4
1889 . . . . .	4.6	1902 . . . . .	8.2
1890 . . . . .	9.0	1903 . . . . .	6.6
1891 . . . . .	9.5	1904 . . . . .	6.2
1892 . . . . .	3.2	1905 . . . . .	17.7
1893 . . . . .	6.2	1906 . . . . .	13.6
1894 . . . . .	5.3	1907 . . . . .	15.2
1895 . . . . .	10.0	1908 . . . . .	17.7
1896 . . . . .	6.7	1909 . . . . .	55.3
1897 . . . . .	7.6	1911 . . . . .	69.2
1898 . . . . .	5.0		

Accordingly, females formed but a very small portion of Japanese immigrants. In more recent years, however, their percentage has been steadily gaining. The phenomenal situation since 1909 is partly accounted for by non-immigration of male laborers. The increasing number of women among the immi-

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the figures given in Imperial Statistical Annuals of Japan; those for 1909 and 1911 from the figures given in the Annual Report of Commissioner General of Immigration.

grants indicates, among other things, a greater tendency among them to settle.

The age distribution of Japanese immigrants according to the Commissioner General of Immigration was as follows:

	Under 14 Years.	14 to 44 Years.	45 Years and Over.
1902 .....	4.3	94.6	0.9
1903 .....	2.5	96.5	0.9
1904 .....	1.3	96.1	2.5
1905 .....	1.1	96.7	2.8
1906 .....	1.0	97.3	1.2
1907 .....	0.8	98.2	1.0
1908 .....	...	...	...
1909 .....	4.5	92.4	2.1
1910 .....	...	...	...
1911 .....	6.5	91.7	1.8

Although the situation has slightly changed after the agreement of 1907 went into effect, we note that over 90 per cent of Japanese immigrants when admitted into the country were between 14 and 44 years of age. This fact, together with the fact of small proportion of females clearly indicates that Japanese here in America are in the stage of greatest productivity. Because of their youthful age Japanese immigrants have been less susceptible to sickness and have been peculiarly free from difficulties, pecuniary or otherwise, so commonly experienced by other immigrants that sought the American shores.

Before specifically taking up the amount of money brought by Japanese immigrants, it may be interesting to know what has been the general tendency in this regard. According to the Commissioner General of Immigration, the per capita amount of money brought by entire immigrants since 1896 was as follows:

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1896 .....	\$11	1904 .....	\$26
1897 .....	15	1905 .....	24
1898 .....	17	1906 .....	23
1899 .....	17	1907 .....	20
1900 .....	15	1908 .....	..
1901 .....	15	1909 .....	23
1902 .....	16	1910 .....	..
1903 .....	19	1911 .....	33

There has been a gradual increase in the per capita amount of money brought by immigrants. The table below shows the per capita amount of money brought by races:<sup>1</sup>

Race.	1900	1905	1911
Japanese . . . . .	\$39.59	\$37.78	\$40.70
Italian (South) . . . . .	8.82	16.77	22.10
Italian (North) . . . . .	22.49	26.79	34.10
Irish . . . . .	14.50	26.19	42.70
Hebrew . . . . .	8.67	14.04	21.50
Polish . . . . .	9.94	13.12	21.40
Scandinavian . . . . .	16.65	25.75	36.60
Slovak . . . . .	11.69	15.43	23.30
Magyar . . . . .	10.39	15.10	26.50
Croatian-Slavonian . . . . .	12.51	15.36	24.40
Russian . . . . .	14.94	36.65	26.60
English . . . . .	38.90	57.65	59.80
German . . . . .	28.53	43.72	54.50

In 1900, next to the Scotch, whose per capita amount was \$41.51, the Japanese headed the list, followed by the English. In 1905 the order altered somewhat. The English headed the list followed by the German, the Japanese and the Croatian-Slavonian in the order. In 1911 again, the English stood at the head followed by the German, the Irish and the Japanese. It ought to be stated here that during the year 1911 of the total Japanese immigrants of 4,575, women numbered 3,166, who were wives and wives to be of those who were already in the country. Therefore, there was no need for these women to carry much money with them. In any case, financially considered, Japanese immigrants belong to the most well-to-do class of all immigrants.

Next, as to illiteracy among Japanese immigrants. From the various facts gleaned, especially those relative to their occupation, we would expect a low percentage of illiteracy among them. But the following is the report of the Immigration Bureau:

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who, *according to their own statement*, cannot write, or cannot read and write, their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past four fiscal years:

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<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the Annual Report of Commissioner General of Immigration.

Northern and Western Europe (chiefly Teutonic and Keltic)—

	1905	1906	1907	1908
Scotch . . . . .	0.7	0.5	1.0	1.4
Scandinavian . . . . .	0.6	0.5	1.1	1.2
English . . . . .	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.4
Bohemian and Moravian . . . . .	1.7	1.8	2.1	1.6
Finnish . . . . .	1.8	1.5	3.1	4.0
French . . . . .	2.7	2.6	2.1	7.9
Irish . . . . .	3.8	2.3	2.2	1.7
Dutch and Flemish . . . . .	5.3	4.0	4.2	3.4
German . . . . .	4.2	5.0	7.0	7.1
Italian (North) . . . . .	14.0	12.0	10.0	8.6
Average of above . . . . .	3.7	3.7	4.3	4.0

Southern and Eastern Europe (chiefly Slavic and Iberic)—

Armenian . . . . .	...	...	24.0	29.7
Spanish . . . . .	10.1	9.8	33.5	14.8
Magyar . . . . .	11.6	12.7	10.5	11.1
Greek . . . . .	22.4	23.5	30.6	28.5
Russian . . . . .	30.8	39.0	44.5	41.4
Slovak . . . . .	25.0	22.0	21.5	23.6
Roumanian . . . . .	28.8	36.5	39.3	38.7
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian . .	38.4	44.3	49.7	44.5
Polish . . . . .	39.6	37.1	41.2	40.4
Croatian and Slovenian . . . . .	38.2	39.9	36.4	30.0
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin . . .	38.9	41.8	44.8	35.6
Lithuanian . . . . .	56.9	56.8	62.4	60.2
Italian (South) . . . . .	56.4	53.8	53.3	50.7
Ruthenian . . . . .	62.6	56.3	55.8	52.0
Portuguese . . . . .	66.7	58.6	76.6	64.8
Average of above . . . . .	42.2	42.0	42.2	40.1

Other Races—

Chinese . . . . .	5.0	5.6	...	...
Cuban . . . . .	7.7	4.7	11.7	2.5
Japanese . . . . .	39.3	42.7	31.2	30.5
Hebrew . . . . .	23.3	27.0	29.0	30.3
African (black) . . . . .	15.8	12.3	16.2	20.0
Syrian . . . . .	53.6	54.8	55.1	54.7
Mexican . . . . .	...	...	...	59.4

According to the table, the number of illiterates among Japanese is smaller than that among the south and east Europeans, but is greater than that among north and west Europeans. But I seriously doubt the accuracy of these statistics, at least, so far as Japanese are concerned, on three positive grounds: First, a system of compulsory education has been in force in Japan during the past forty years, and as we have already seen that the majority of Japanese immigrants are young men. Second, common laborers formed but only 21.4 per cent of the total immigration

during the entire period under consideration, and it is unthinkable from what I know that all these laborers should be illiterates. Third, the Immigration Commission found that the literacy among Japanese here in the West compares favorably with that among Europeans in whose nations exist the best systems of education.

But inasmuch as I shall later take up this topic in another connection, I shall here simply present what the census for 1910 has recently made public. The following table shows the illiteracy of the population of the State of California by races:

Race.		Race.	
Native whites . . . . .	0.5	Negroes . . . . .	7.0
Foreign-born whites . . . . .	10.0	Indians . . . . .	49.0
Japanese . . . . .	8.6	Average . . . . .	3.7
Chinese . . . . .	15.5		

Further, the composition of these foreign-born whites was as follows:

Race.		Race.	
Germans . . . . .	14.8	Swedes . . . . .	5.1
Italians . . . . .	12.3	Portuguese . . . . .	4.3
Irish . . . . .	10.1	French . . . . .	3.4
English . . . . .	9.4	Austrians . . . . .	3.3
Canadians . . . . .	8.6	Russians . . . . .	3.2
Mexicans . . . . .	6.5	Others . . . . .	18.8

In other words, the percentage of illiteracy among the foreign-born whites in California is higher by 1.4 per cent as compared with that among the Japanese immigrants. Note also the composition of these foreign-born whites. By far the great majority are those from the leading nations of Europe. Yet the percentage of illiteracy among them is high. One of the favorite arguments of anti-Japanese agitators such as "ignorant Jap coolies" has evidently no meaning in the light of the above facts. So much for the facts relating to Japanese immigrants upon their arrival in this country.

### PART III.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS.

The regular American ports of entry for Japanese have been and still are San Francisco, Seattle and Portland, Oregon. But Seattle did not begin to receive Japanese regularly till about 1890, though a few sailors made appearance there as early as in 1879. Neither did Portland receive them till 1895, although it saw the immigration of 200 Japanese in 1887. Most Japanese immigrants entered through the port of San Francisco. Naturally, therefore, Japanese resided in and about this port city from which they radiated as time advanced. In 1890, according to the census, the 2,039 Japanese were distributed as follows:

District.	Number.
North Atlantic States .....	247
South Atlantic States .....	55
North Central States .....	117
South Central States .....	61
Western States .....	1,559

Again, in 1900 and 1910 as follows:

District.	1900 Number.	1910 Number.
New England States .....	89	286
Middle Atlantic States .....	446	1,609
South Atlantic States .....	29	150
E. N. Central States .....	126	455
E. S. Central States .....	7	23
W. N. Central States .....	223	966
W. S. Central States .....	30	426
Mountain States .....	5,107	10,209
Pacific States .....	18,269	57,628

Thus we note the gradual eastward migration of Japanese immigrants. Still by far the majority of them are yet confined to the western states, California containing the largest number. In 1910 the Japanese population in California was estimated at 55,000, made up approximately of 45,000 males, 6,000 females,

and 4,000 children. Their distribution by county and the percentage they formed in each, were as follows:

County.	No.	Per Cent.	County.	No.	Per Cent.
Los Angeles . . . .	11,500	2.2	Kings . . . . .	500	3.1
San Francisco . . .	6,900	1.6	Butte . . . . .	400	1.7
Sacramento . . . .	6,000	8.0	San Bernardino ..	400	9.0
Alameda . . . . .	4,400	1.8	San Diego . . . . .	400	0.6
San Joaquin . . . .	4,300	8.0	Yuba . . . . .	400	4.1
Santa Clara . . . .	3,100	3.9	Imperial . . . . .	360	2.7
Fresno . . . . .	3,000	4.0	San Mateo . . . . .	350	1.3
Yolo . . . . .	1,500	9.0	Colusa . . . . .	350	7.0
Contra Costa . . . .	1,000	3.3	San Luis Obispo..	300	..
Placer . . . . .	1,000	..	Sutter . . . . .	300	5.1
Orange . . . . .	990	2.6	Kern . . . . .	340	0.6
Santa Barbara ..	960	3.4	Tehama . . . . .	200	1.9
Sonoma . . . . .	880	1.8	Stanislaus . . . . .	190	0.8
Santa Cruz . . . .	860	..	Merced . . . . .	150	1.2
Monterey . . . . .	780	..	San Benito . . . . .	150	..
Tulare . . . . .	780	2.2	Napa . . . . .	100	..
Solano . . . . .	700	2.5	Others . . . . .	40	..
Ventura . . . . .	670	3.7			
Riverside . . . . .	650	..	Total . . . . .	55,000	2.1

First of all, according to the above table, Japanese are scattered all over the State. However, Los Angeles County contained the largest number, which was 11,500, while San Francisco and Sacramento the next largest number of Japanese. Alameda and San Joaquin contained little over 4,000 each, while Santa Clara and Fresno about 3,000 each. Three counties, Yolo, Contra Costa and Placer had about 1,000 each. Their number gradually diminish in the remaining counties. However, the percentage they formed of the entire population in each county does not follow the same order of their actual number. Thus in Yolo they formed 9 per cent, which was the highest, and in Sacramento and San Joaquin 8 per cent, which was the next highest. In Los Angeles they formed but 2.2 per cent, while in San Francisco 1.6 per cent. In no case then had they formed more than 9 per cent of the entire population even by counties.

The principal cities containing Japanese and the percentage they formed of the total population of each were as follows:

City.	No.	Per Cent.	City.	No.	Per Cent.
Los Angeles . . . .	7,938	2.5	San Jose . . . . .	790	2.6
San Francisco . . .	6,988	1.6	Alameda . . . . .	692	3.0
Sacramento . . . .	2,452	5.6	Berkeley . . . . .	686	1.7
Oakland . . . . .	1,835	1.2	Stockton . . . . .	495	2.1

Of the Japanese in cities, Los Angeles contained the largest and San Francisco the next largest number, they being 7,900 and 6,900 respectively. Sacramento had little over 2,400. But these formed 5.6 per cent of its entire population. The city of Alameda had only 700 Japanese, but these formed 3 per cent of its population. In spite of their large numbers, they formed only 2.5 per cent of the population of the city of Los Angeles, while 1.6 per cent of that of San Francisco.

## PART IV.

### ECONOMIC STATUS OF JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA.

Below is given an estimated occupational distribution of Japanese in California:

Occupation.	Number.	Occupation.	Number.
Officials, teachers, clergy.	120	Railway employees . . . . .	1,500
Students . . . . .	1,000	Factories and canneries..	500
Farmers . . . . .	4,500	Salt field hands . . . . .	300
Farm hands . . . . .	20,000	Others . . . . .	3,580
Merchants . . . . .	4,000	No occupation . . . . .	8,500
Hired by merchants . . . . .	6,000		
Domestic servants . . . . .	5,000	Total . . . . .	55,000

Though perhaps the best obtainable estimate, none of the above figures should be rigidly interpreted for several reasons. The majority of farmers being mostly tenants, share or "contract" lack permanent character. Independent farmers of to-day may become mere farm hands of to-morrow and *vice versa*. The majority of merchants are the keepers of insignificantly small shops. They, too, come and go in a quick order. Laborers are mostly unskilled, therefore they shift from one occupation to another, according to seasons, and, indeed, according to their whims and fancies. Clerks may become domestic servants at any moment. Domestic servants may take fancy to farms or to railroads. Farm hands may become gang hands, and *vice versa*. These, again, may work in canneries. They can shift about in these various occupations without any difficulty, because, in the first place, none of the occupations require any high degree of specialized skill, and in the second place, these Japanese are mostly unmarried young men between twenty and forty. A knowledge of English is necessary in certain of the occupations, but that too need not be more than elementary. There are hardly any illiterates among them as far as their own language is concerned. Most young men are graduates of middle schools and have enough education to qualify for any of the occupations enumerated. Those with no occupation are mostly women and children. In

other words, the table is set forth simply to give a normalized snap-shot picture of the occupational status of the Japanese in California. And the most striking fact about this picture is the narrowness of the field of Japanese activity. Be that as it may, we will examine somewhat in detail the more important of these occupations.

### *Japanese in Agriculture.*

Nearly 50 per cent of Japanese immigrants are engaged in horticultural and agricultural industries, either as farmers or as farm hands, the latter predominating in number. There are doubtless several reasons for this state of affairs. First of all, for centuries Japanese have been an agricultural race. Japanese labor immigrants here were almost exclusively drawn from the agricultural classes of Japan. It was natural, therefore, that they betook themselves to the industry as soon as the opportunity was offered to them. And already in the early eighties a few of them found their way to the orchards of the Vaca Valley. In the latter eighties a group of about thirty Japanese left San Francisco and went to the Sacramento Valley. A similar group landed in the Santa Clara Valley at about the same time. At that time agricultural labor in the State was practically monopolized by the Chinese. But the Restriction Law of 1882 providing for exclusion of Chinese laborers,—“skilled or unskilled and those engaged in mining for ten years,” began to curtail their labor supply. By 1890 the number of Japanese reached little over 1,000 and the farmers of California began to experiment Japanese as farm hands. They were then gradually substituted for Chinese, who were growing old and weak. The substitution was inevitable—a case of the survival of the fittest.

Possessing all the required qualifications for the kind of labor needed in the industries and having organized themselves so as to meet the demand more efficiently, they have attained their present important position in agriculture of California. To show that position substantially I can do no better than to quote the “Report on the Japanese Question in California,” made by a special commission appointed by the State in 1909, which reads in part as follows:

"The investigation of Japanese in agriculture covered visits to 4,102 farms scattered over thirty-six counties and growing almost every crop common to the State of California. Of this total number of farms visited, 1,733 were operated by Japanese farmers as owners, cash lessees and share lessees. The remaining 2,369 farms were operated by white farmers, being equally distributed between those employing white help, exclusively, and those employing mixed races, including Japanese. These 4,102 farms contained 697,236 acres and produced crops valued approximately at \$28,000,000 annually. On these farms there were employed during the past year an aggregate of 80,984 persons of all races, 9,458 of whom were women, the length of employment varying from a few days to a year. On the 2,369 farms operated by white farmers, employing a total of 63,198 persons, 53.4 per cent of the labor employed was white, 36.4 per cent Japanese, and 10.2 per cent various other races, including Chinese, Mexicans, Hindus and Indians. On the 1,733 farms operated by Japanese farmers employing 17,784 persons, 96 per cent of the labor employed was Japanese, while 872 or 4 per cent, was equally divided between male and female white; in other words, on the basis of numbers employed, the Japanese furnished practically 50 per cent, or one-half, of the labor necessary to grow and harvest the crop, valued at \$28,000,000 produced on the farms visited in this investigation."

The farms on which Japanese were not employed were, as a rule, much smaller than those on which they were employed, the former averaging 159 acres, the latter 357, demonstrating the necessity of a class of temporary laborers on large acreage.

Another important fact developed by this investigation was the relation between the character of the crop grown and the employment of Japanese. On the farms where whites were employed exclusively, no berries or nursery products were grown and very little vegetables outside of beans.

The relation of the character of the crop to the employment of Japanese is well brought out in the following:

On the 2,369 farms operated by white farmers the percentage

of labor furnished by Japanese, according to the principal crops grown, was as follows:

	Per Cent.		Per Cent.
Berries . . . . .	87.2	Citrus fruits . . . . .	38.1
Sugar beets . . . . .	66.3	Deciduous fruits . . . . .	36.5
Nursery products . . . . .	57.3	Hops . . . . .	8.7
Grapes . . . . .	51.3	Hay and grain . . . . .	6.6
Vegetables . . . . .	45.7	Miscellaneous . . . . .	19.6

It was further developed in this investigation that the fruit crops peculiar to California required the labor of a large number of persons for a very short period of time. The average duration of employment on farms visited was less than two months in the year, 68.3 per cent of the whites and 61.6 per cent of the Japanese were employed less than three months, and only 16.6 per cent of the whites and 10.7 per cent of the Japanese were employed permanently.”

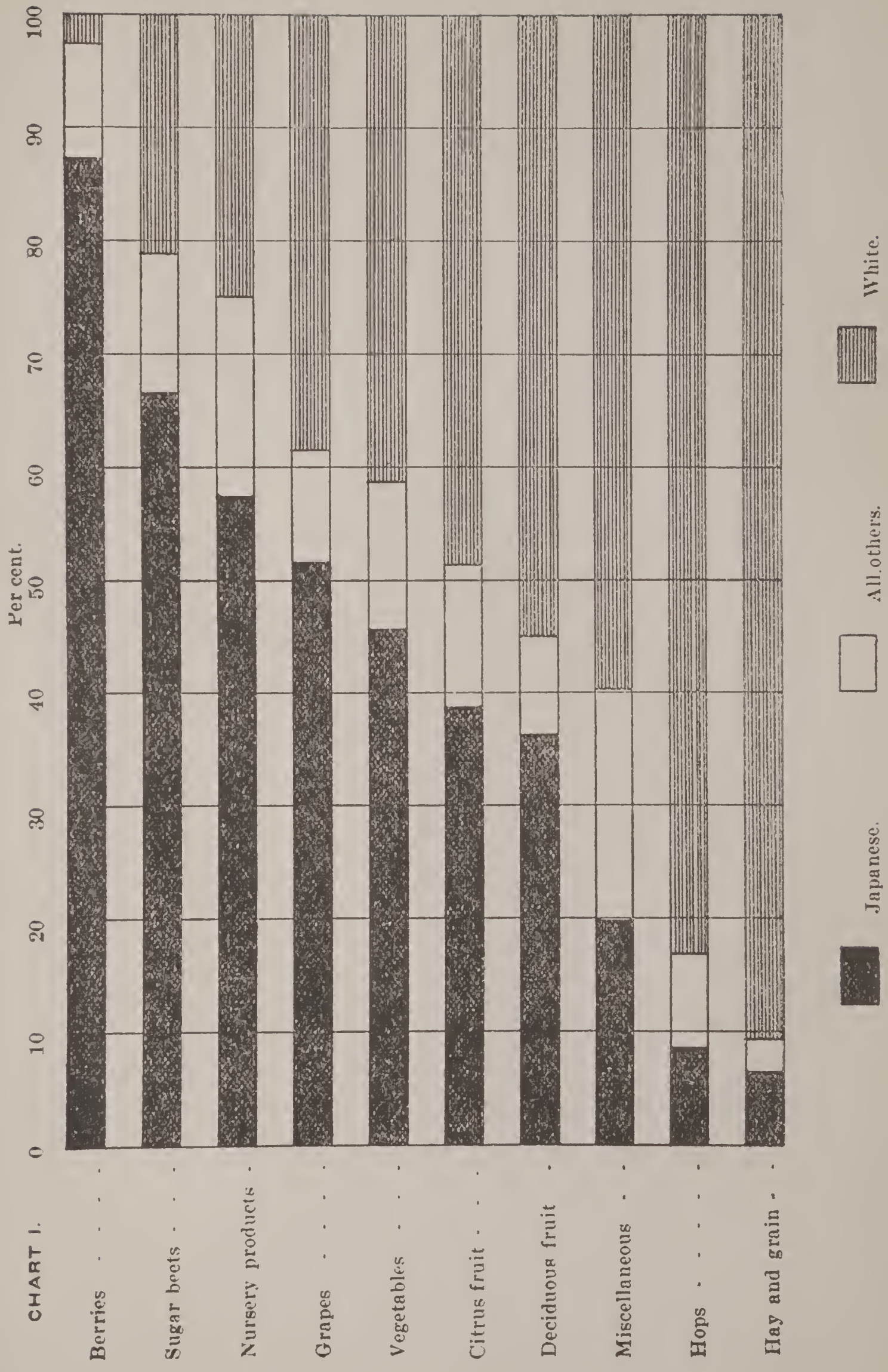
The following two charts will clearly show the relative position of Japanese and others engaged in agriculture of California:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These charts are reproduced from the Fourteenth Biennial Report of Bureau of Labor Statistics of California, pp. 270-273.

### CHART I.

#### RACE OF FARM LABOR EMPLOYED, ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL CROP GROWN.

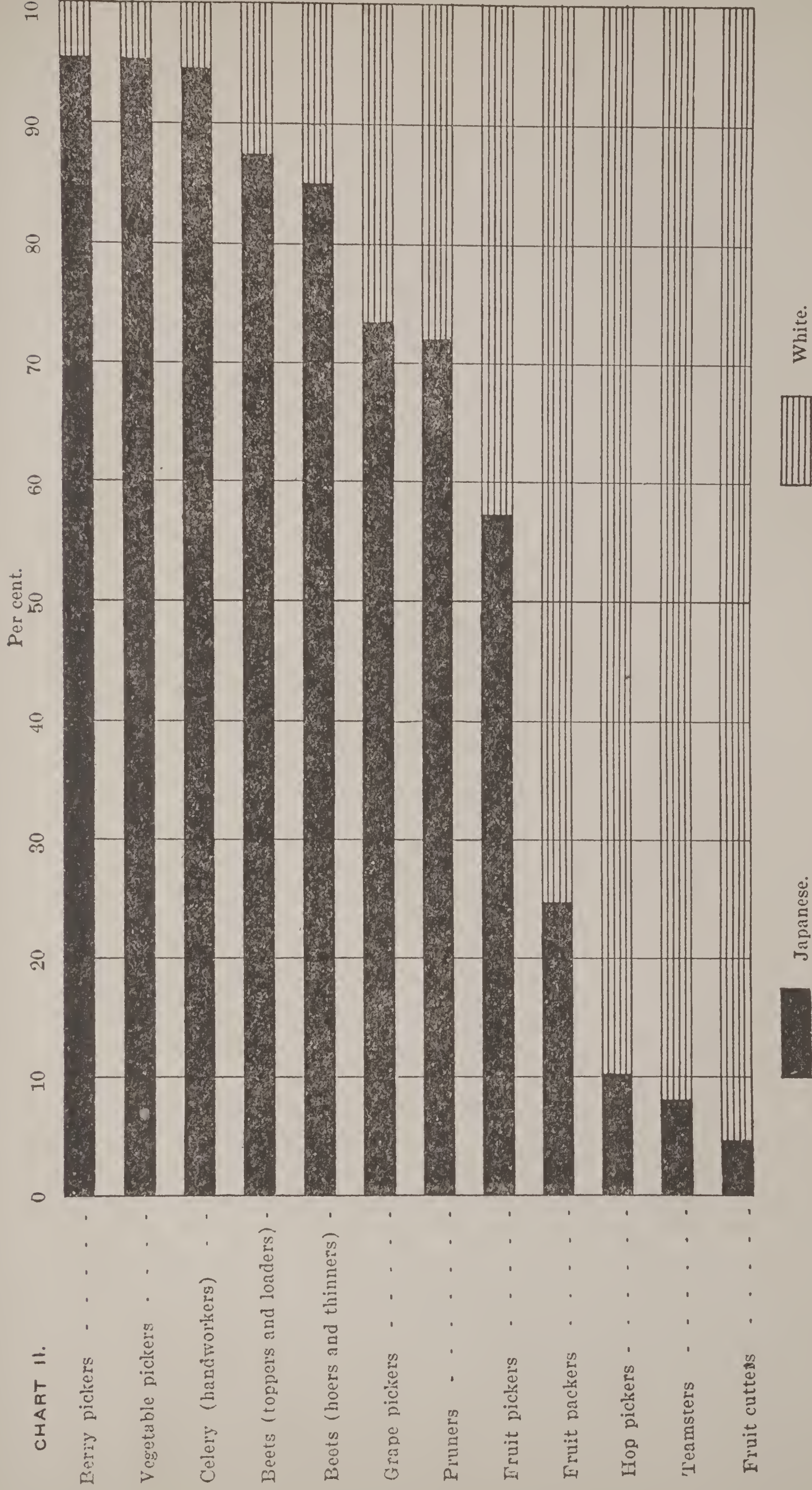
"In this chart there is presented the percentage of farm labor of different races employed, according to the principal crop grown. These percentages are based on a record of 2,369 farms operated by white farmers. These farms were located in practically all the important agricultural and horticultural sections of the State. They contained 613,852 acres, on which were raised crops to the value of \$23,000,000. On these farms there were employed during the year a total of 63,198 persons. The chart shows at a glance the crops which are dependent upon either white or Japanese labor."



## CHART II.

### RACE OF FARM LABOR EMPLOYED, ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.

“In this chart the percentages of white and Japanese labor is shown according to the various occupations. Reading down the list of occupations, it shows the class of work which the white farm laborer dislikes and which is now performed by the Japanese, while reading up it shows the class of work which is still congenial to the white farm laborer, and in which the Japanese have been unable to gain a foothold. The white fruit-packers and fruit-cutters are practically all female.”



The *Chronicle*, which evidently had a fuller text of the Report than its "Resumé" before me, quotes from it further: "It is not mere opinion, based on concensus of observation, no theory predicated on an analysis of conditions and requirements, but the positive expression of a majority of the growers of fruits and such products as are affected by the demand, that this labor must continue to be drawn from sources beyond the United States. The competency of both Chinese and Japanese to meet all the requirements by these industries of the orchard, the vineyard and the field is unquestioned and unquestionable."

Again, "Comparing the individual Japanese laborer and the individual white laborer of the typical class that is now available in the field and from which is recruited all the white help now obtainable, the investigation discloses a higher standard of the Japanese individual.

"The report points out the peculiar adaptability of the Japanese as one of the most important factors in his value as a laborer. No matter how unattractable or undependable, he may show himself in the absence of active competition, he reforms quickly in the face of competition, while the white man is the same always, and will not adopt himself to disagreeable or undesirable conditions." <sup>1</sup>

This brings me to a discussion of Japanese competition. Speaking of the wages of Japanese farm hands, the same report says: "The average wage paid by white farmers to white help was \$1.38 per day with board and \$1.80 per day without board, and to the Japanese \$1.49 per day with board and \$1.54 per day without board. This, however, cannot be taken as the average earnings of the Japanese, for 49.2 per cent of the entire number employed were working by contract or piece work, under which condition the earnings of the Japanese are much higher than those of the whites.

The average wages paid to Japanese farm labor by Japanese farmers were \$1.57 per day with board and \$1.65 without board, showing that the Japanese were better paid by their own countrymen than by the white farmer,—this for two reasons: first, that

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<sup>1</sup> The San Francisco "Chronicle," May 30, 1910.

he is in greater demand by his own countrymen, and second, that only 12.5 per cent of the total number employed by Japanese farmers were working by contract or piece work."

This situation is further substantiated by the result of the investigation by the Immigration Commission. The following table gives "comparison between the average wages of the Japanese on a time basis and the averages of other races:"

Race.	Regular with Board.		Regular without Board.		Temporary with Board.		Temporary without Board.	
	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
Miscellaneous, white.	411	\$1.311	199	\$1.889	53	\$1.286	286	\$1.855
Italian . . . . .	101	1.108	22	1.667	181	1.121	...	....
Mexican . . . . .	...	....	85	1.422	...	....	82	1.721
Chinese . . . . .	108	1.406	26	1.559	35	1.454	99	1.743
Japanese . . . . .	93	1.396	863	1.633	40	1.421	...	1.615
Hindus . . . . .	...	....	66	1.534	...	....	253	1.441

Commenting upon the table the report says: "It will be seen that the average wages for both Japanese and Chinese regularly employed and receiving board, \$1.396 and \$1.406, respectively, are higher than those for 'miscellaneous white' men, \$1.311 and Italians \$1.108. 'Miscellaneous white' men were paid \$1.889 per day without board, as against \$1.623 paid to Japanese. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of 3,650 Japanese farm laborers investigated, the same report states further: "Of the 863 regular employees not boarded, 86.4 per cent received between \$1.50 and \$1.75, and of the 2,654 temporary men not boarded, 90.3 per cent received from \$1.50 to \$1.75, inclusive."<sup>2</sup>

The report concludes, "White employers nearly always prefer white men as teamsters and usually state that they would prefer reliable white men for all work, but the Japanese are better workers than the irregular white men usually available for hand work."<sup>3</sup>

### *Japanese Farmers.*

There is a general misconception, indeed, an apprehension as regards Japanese farming in California owing partly to the

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, pp. 65-66.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

complicated systems under which Japanese cultivate land, but largely to the purposely exaggerated statements frequently asserted by the interested parties, The Asiatic Exclusion League to wit. We will first examine the facts. Soon after Japanese began to work on ranches white farmers applied to the Japanese the systems under which Chinese cultivated land. The first of these was "contract" system under which Japanese boss or bosses were bound to furnish necessary labor throughout the season of a given industry at a previously fixed price. The second was share system, which is not the same as *métayage*, for under it the proprietor held an absolute control over the management of the farm. It only differs from contract system in that under this plan the lessor and lessee share alike profits and losses under stipulated conditions. Cash leasing did not begin till about 1900. The system as applied to the Japanese farmers, ought to be classified into two,—leasing simple and quasi-leasing. The former requires no explanation, but the latter is peculiar. The lessee pays the lessor a fixed cash rent for an industry he undertakes at his own risks, the lessor still having an absolute control over the management of the industry as well as over the disposition of the crops. He gets his rent "out of the sale of first crops." This is not leasing in the strict sense of that word. All of these systems were initiated by white farmers for their own convenience and economic gains to them were thus secured.

Just when Japanese began to cultivate their own land is not known. But the State investigation of 1909 disclosed that the farm land owned by Japanese was 10,791 acres, which were divided into 199 farms. These farms were assessed at \$330,401 on land, and \$46,927 on improvements, making a total of \$397,298, and were mortgaged to the extent of \$173,584. In 1912 that acreage increased to 12,726, which were assessed at \$609,605. There was an increase in the amount of 1,935 acres, and in value of \$212,307. So much for Japanese who cultivate their own land.

Concerning these farmers and tenant farmers the report of the State investigation says: "1,733 Japanese farms were visited of which 132, containing 3,876 acres, were operated by Japanese owners; 1,170 farms containing 46,480 acres by Japanese cash

lessees; and 431 farms containing 33,028 acres, by Japanese share lessees. These farms produced crops valued at, approximately, over \$6,000,000. The most important crop grown was vegetables, which amounted to, approximately \$2,500,000, the next being deciduous fruits, \$1,750,000, and berries, \$730,000."

Thus Japanese farmers occupy rather an important position in certain agricultural industries in California. But it must be borne in mind that the majority of these Japanese farmers are tenant farmers and these of a peculiar character as it has been already explained. Therefore, when their true character is revealed, at least their financial importance sinks down considerably. Their real status is succinctly but clearly brought out by the following conclusion of the Immigration Commission:

"In most localities the Japanese are the most recent race to engage in farming on their own account, so that there is a striking contrast between them and the other farmers in the West—in wealth as well as in the form of tenure and permanency of their relations in the community. While many of the Japanese farmers have accumulated considerable property and have become fairly independent in the conduct of their holdings, the largest number have little property and many of them have a form of tenure which limits their freedom in production. Moreover, because of the circumstances under which they have engaged in farming an unusually large number of the Japanese have failed. Yet it must be held in mind that most of them have begun to farm much more recently than the farmers of other races. The wealth accumulated by a small minority in a few years has induced many to undertake farming on their own account."<sup>1</sup>

### *Japanese City Trades.*

The results of the State investigation of Japanese city trades are summarized as follows:

"That part of the investigation relating to the Japanese in business and activities other than agriculture is practically complete. Two thousand five hundred and forty-eight establishments were visited throughout the State. One thousand nine hundred

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 89.

and thirty-four were owned by individuals, 550 by partnerships, and 64 by corporations; 19.4 per cent have been in business less than one year; 24.2 per cent for one year; 17.2 per cent for two years, and 15.9 per cent for three years, making a total of 76.7 per cent of the total established since 1906. Only 58 establishments, or 2.3 per cent of the total, have been in existence for ten years or more. The capital invested in most instances was very small, 68.7 per cent of the total having a capital of less than \$1,000. The total aggregate cash invested amounted to over \$4,000,000. The total annual transactions of these Japanese establishments amounted to \$16,114,407, of which \$5,938,012, or 36.8 per cent, was with the white people. The total annual rent paid by these firms was over \$900,000. Six thousand five hundred and fifty-six persons were engaged in the conducting of these establishments, of which number 2,546 males and 562 females (principally wives of owners), were employers, and 3,214 males and 234 female employees. In addition there were employed by these Japanese firms 35 male and 20 female white persons. In 1,782 establishments, or 69.9 per cent, the employees lodged at the place of work.

“The sanitary condition of the places of work was reported as follows:

	Per Cent.
Good . . . . .	81.8
Fair . . . . .	16.6
Bad . . . . .	1.4

“Sanitary condition of the places of lodging:

	Per Cent.
Good . . . . .	68.5
Fair . . . . .	27.3
Bad . . . . .	4.2

“One thousand, five hundred and sixty-eight, or 61.5 per cent of the total number of establishments were located in the seven principal cities of the State, as follows:

Los Angeles . . . . .	505	Fresno . . . . .	101
San Francisco . . . . .	497	San Jose . . . . .	79
Oakland . . . . .	178	Stockton . . . . .	54
Sacramento . . . . .	154		

“Although San Francisco did not contain the largest number of establishments, 34 per cent of the entire investment was represented there, and 40.2 per cent of the total amount of business transacted therein.

“The ruling number of hours worked per day was ten and over, and the prevailing wages paid were from \$25 to \$35 with board, and \$40 to \$50 per month without board.”

#### *Japanese in Other Occupations.*

Of the remaining occupations, the most important is undoubtedly domestic service. It may be stated that before Japanese found work on ranches, they were exclusively confined to domestic work. There are now some 5,000 of them engaged in this service, which embraces cooking, waiting on table, house cleaning, etc. Below are given two tables showing the wages paid in San Francisco to female white domestics and Orientals likewise occupied:

**TABLE X. Female Employment Agencies in San Francisco**  
(Showing Number of Persons Furnished Positions in Various Occupations and their Wages during month of April 1910.)

OCCUPATIONS	Total number of persons given employment.....	Number of persons given employment in San Francisco.....	Number of persons given employment outside San Francisco.....	WAGES PER MONTH								
				\$15.00 and under....	\$20.00.....	\$25.00.....	\$30.00.....	\$35.00.....	\$40.00.....	\$45.00.....	\$50.00.....	\$60.00 and over....
Chambermaids.....	44	27	17	..	6	24	3	6	2	3	..	..
Cooks.....	58	17	41	1	2	4	15	6	11	2	9	8
House girls.....	58	49	9	1	7	17	15	8	7	1	1	1
Housework, general....	47	28	19	1	4	9	19	7	6	..	1	..
Laundry workers.....	7	3	4	1	..	..	..	2	4	..	..	..
Linen workers.....	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Nurse girls.....	4	1	3	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Saleswomen.....	16	16	..	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..
Waitresses.....	107	41	66	2	..	49	32	21	3	..	..	..
Totals.....	342	183	159	6	21	103	85	68	33	6	11	9

**TABLE XI. Oriental Employment Agencies in San Francisco.**  
(Showing Number of Persons Furnished Positions in Various Occupations, and their Wages during Month of April, 1910.)

OCCUPATIONS	Total number of persons given employment.....	Number of persons given employment in San Francisco.....	Number of persons given employment outside San Francisco.....	Wages per week				Wages per Month.										
				\$5.00 and under.....	Over \$5.00 to \$7.50..	Over \$7.50 to \$10.00	\$10.00 and over.....	\$10.00 and under....	\$15.00.....	\$20.00.....	\$25.00.....	\$30.00.....	\$35.00.....	\$40.00.....	\$45.00.....	\$50.00.....	\$60.00 and over.....	
Bedmakers.....	16	14	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	2	1	..	..	..	..
Cooks.....	101	73	28	..	2	5	..	..	..	1	1	26	17	25	11	7	6	..
Help, kitchen.....	24	22	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8	10	4	..	..	..	..
Help, laundry.....	11	7	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	5	1	..	..	..
House servants.....	43	37	6	..	1	1	..	..	..	3	11	21	5	..	..	..	..	1
Pantrymen.....	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..
Porters.....	11	9	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	5	2	..	..	..
School boys.....	21	20	1	8	..	..	..	2	2	2	2	4	1	..	..	..	..	..
Waiters.....	31	21	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	14	8	4	2	..	..	..
Totals.....	261	205	56	8	4	6	..	2	2	6	18	88	50	46	16	8	7	..

Compiled from the tables in the Fourteenth Biennial Report of State Bureau of Labor, pp. 324-325.

On the basis of these statistics, we see that the majority of the Orientals are earning somewhere between \$35 and \$45 per month, and therefore, more than the female whites engaged in similar occupations.

Lastly, as to the Japanese employed by railroad companies. We have no available data concerning Japanese railroad hands in this State. But we may learn their status indirectly through a knowledge of numerous Japanese employed by the Central Pacific, the Western Pacific, and the Salt Lake and San Pedro in Nevada and Utah.

"From 1895, when they were first employed, until 1901, the Japanese were most numerous of the races employed as laborers. They were then displaced by Greeks at a higher wage, but were later re-employed at a lower wage than that paid to the displaced race. In 1906 they numbered 1,000; 1908, 900; at the beginning of 1909, 700. They are now paid \$1.40 per day, while the Italians, the other important racial element in maintenance of way work, are in some cases paid \$1.50. On the other two roads referred to, the Japanese are paid the same wages as all white men, \$1.45 per day, and in one case more than the Mexicans employed on the southern end of the route. They are also paid the same wage as Greeks, Italians, and Slavs, and all white men employed on another road with its western terminus in Utah." <sup>1</sup>

The report further says: "With few exceptions the Japanese are preferred to the Greeks, who are most invariably ranked as the least desirable section hands, because they are not industrious and are intractable and difficult to control. As between Japanese and Italians, opinion is fairly evenly divided. The same may be said of them and the Slavs. Though the Japanese are usually ranked below the Chinese and Mexicans, they compare favorably with the south and eastern Europeans, who constitute a still larger percentage of the common laborers in maintenance of way work." <sup>2</sup>

Professor Jenks and Dr. Lauck says: "The road masters and section foremen generally prefer the Japanese to either Italians, Greeks or Slavs as section hands. In railway shops they are

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

given a higher rank than the Mexicans, Greeks, and at times than the Italians.”<sup>1</sup>

So much for the occupations in which Japanese are engaged and wages they earn in the more important of these. Our examination brought out two facts in relief concerning the activity of Japanese; first, the narrowness of their field of activity, and second, in each of the important occupations Japanese are earning just as much as anybody else similarly engaged, if not more. This fact is probably accounted for by their relative efficiency. In spite of a persistent allegation by anti-Japanese agitators, Japanese do not sell their labor at cheaper prices.

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<sup>1</sup> Jenks and Lauck, "Immigration Problems," p. 228.

## PART V.

### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

Innumerable, indeed, are charges brought out by anti-Japanese agitators against Japanese immigrants. Among these the most conspicuous and persistent is that of non-assimilation. We will not refute this bogie. We will simply present facts that will clearly indicate the capacity of the Japanese for assimilation and the actual progress they have made toward assimilation.

First, as to their literacy. The table below shows the percentage of the Japanese who can speak English, by economic groups, and by industry, and by years in the United States:

#### WAGE-EARNERS

INDUSTRY	Number Reporting Complete Data.	PER CENT WHO SPEAK ENGLISH, BY YEARS IN UNITED STATES			
		Under 5	5 to 9	10 or over	Total
Agriculture.....	6,041	58.8	72.5	84.4	65.8
Fish canneries.....	458	79.4	80.5	84.8	80.3
Fruit and vegetable canneries.....	201	51.1	66.7	63.2	55.7
Laundries.....	161	85.0	93.2	90.0	87.6
Lumber mills.....	333	38.8	55.1	73.3	49.2
Mining, coal.....	447	44.7	54.2	57.8	50.3
Smelting.....	63	18.4	40.0	60.0	28.6
Transportation:					
Steam railroads—					
Maintenance of way and construction.....	1,135	44.7	55.5	61.8	49.2
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service.....	628	37.0	62.3	75.0	46.8
Electric railways.....	102	50.0	76.0	100.0	58.8
Miscellaneous.....	1,277	83.8	85.7	96.1	86.2
Total.....	10,846	58.1	70.7	82.6	64.7

#### IN BUSINESS FOR SELF

Agriculture.....	847	85.9	96.0	98.1	93.4
Miscellaneous.....	458	95.0	97.1	99.3	97.4
Total.....	1,350	38.4	96.4	98.6	94.8

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, pp. 146-147.

“By way of summary, it may be said that when compared with other races employed in similar kinds of labor in the same industry, the Japanese show relatively rapid progress in acquiring a speaking knowledge of English. Their advance has been much more rapid than that of the Chinese and the Mexicans, who show little interest in ‘American’ institutions. During their first five years of residence a greater proportion have learned to speak English than of most of the south and east European races. However, among those who have been in this country for a longer period of time, a larger proportion of the south and east Europeans than of the Japanese speak English. The progress of the Japanese is due to their great eagerness to learn, which has overcome more obstacles than have been encountered by most of the other races, obstacles of race prejudice, of segregation, and of wide difference in language.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese are self-satisfied and indifferent in this regard, whereas the Japanese are eager to learn the English language or anything pertaining to Western civilization.”<sup>2</sup>

The next table shows the percentage of foreign-born Japanese who read their native language and percentage who read and write their native language, by sex and industry.<sup>3</sup>

#### MALE

INDUSTRY	Number Reporting Complete Data.	PER CENT WHO	
		Read Native Language	Read and Write Native Language
Agriculture.....	5,563	97.6	97.5
Fish canneries.....	368	100.0	100.0
Fruit and vegetable canneries.....	201	98.0	97.5
Laundries.....	161	100.0	100.0
Lumber mills.....	231	98.3	97.8
Mining, coal.....	403	96.3	96.0
Smelting.....	63	100.0	100.0
Transportation:			
Steam railroads—			
Maintenance of way and construction.....	1,000	98.2	98.1
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service.....	628	98.6	98.4
Electric railways.....	102	92.2	92.2
Miscellaneous.....	849	98.9	98.9
Total.....	9,569	97.9	97.8

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

# FEMALE

Agriculture.....	83	74.1	72.8
Fruit and vegetable canneries.....	36	52.8	52.8
Miscellaneous.....	34	91.2	91.2
Total.....	151	72.8	72.2

“It is evident from the preceding discussion that the standard of literacy shown by the Japanese, as indicated by their ability to read and write their native language, is far higher than that shown by the Chinese, the Mexicans, and most of the south and east European races, if comparison is limited to those who are employed in the same industries and at the same kind of work.” <sup>1</sup>

“As noted above, with regard to their ability to speak English many Japanese immigrants have attended high schools in Japan, where they are given a foundation in English grammar . . . But a further aid in mastering the English language is found in the schools which are conducted in this country. Practically all of the few Japanese children of school age in the West attend the public schools, where they are found in all classes, from the primary grades through the entire elementary and secondary system.” <sup>2</sup>

“Numerous schools are maintained for the benefit of adult Japanese immigrants. No less than 33, the primary aim of which is to instruct adult Japanese in the English language, were reported by agents of the Commission in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, and Sacramento, Cal., and Seattle and Tacoma, Wash. Of these, several were designed primarily for the “student class,” and embraced all subjects preparatory to high school, and in one or two cases for college work. The great majority, however, were conducted by the various religious missions and by private parties with the primary aim of imparting a knowledge of English to Japanese laborers.” <sup>3</sup>

At the end of 1912, the number of Japanese attending various public and private schools in California were as follows:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 151-152.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Japanese American Year-Book for 1912, pp. 131-132.

School.	Number.
Primary and grammar schools, public .....	1,183
High schools, public .....	139
Colleges and universities .....	105
Japanese kindergartens and primary schools, private .....	678
"Special" schools for adult Japanese, private .....	570

The next table gives per cent of foreign-born Japanese who read English and per cent who read and write English, by sex and industry.<sup>1</sup>

#### WAGE-EARNERS

INDUSTRY	Number Reporting Complete Data.		Percent Who Speak English		Percent Who Read and Write English	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture.....	6,041	111	21.6	2.7	19.8	2.7
Fish canneries.....	368	.....	56.0	.....	52.7	.....
Fruit and vegetable canneries..	201	36	34.3	5.6	33.8	5.6
Laundries.....	161	.....	59.0	.....	59.0	.....
Lumber mills.....	231	.....	36.4	.....	35.5	.....
Mining, coal.....	447	.....	48.1	.....	47.2	.....
Smelting.....	63	.....	11.1	.....	11.1	.....
Transportation: steam railroads: Maintenance of way and construction.....	1,000	.....	42.8	.....	42.2	.....
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service....	628	.....	33.8	.....	30.2	.....
Electric railways.	102	.....	51.0	.....	50.0	.....
Miscellaneous.....	1,276	60	59.1	23.3	54.3	21.7
Total.....	10,518	207	32.6	9.2	30.5	8.7

#### IN BUSINESS FOR SELF

Agriculture.....	841	277	37.5	7.6	36.6	7.2
Miscellaneous.....	450	198	71.1	22.2	71.1	21.7
Total.....	1,291	475	49.2	13.7	48.6	13.3

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 154.

Lastly, the following table shows the percentage of foreign-born Japanese who read and who read and write some language, by sex and by industry: <sup>1</sup>

WAGE-EARNERS

INDUSTRY	Number Reporting Complete Data		Per cent Who Read		Per cent who Read and Write	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Agriculture.....	6,041	111	97.8	79.3	97.7	78.4
Fish canneries.....	458	.....	99.8	.....	99.8	.....
Fruit and vegetable canneries.....	201	36	98.0	52.8	98.0	52.8
Laundries.....	161	.....	100.00	.....	100.0	.....
Lumber mills.....	332	11	98.5	(a)	98.2	(a)
Mining, coal.....	447	.....	96.0	(a)	95.7	(a)
Smelting.....	63	.....	100.00	.....	100.0	.....
Transportation:						
Steam railroads:						
Maintenance of way and construction.....	1,135	3	97.1	(a)	96.1	(a)
Shops, bridges and buildings, water and signal service....	628	.....	99.2	.....	99.0	.....
Electric railways.	102	.....	92.2	.....	92.2	.....
Miscellaneous.....	1,277	60	99.2	91.7	99.2	91.7
Total.....	10,844	221	98.0	78.7	97.8	78.3

IN BUSINESS FOR SELF

Agriculture.....	838	277	97.4	88.8	97.3	87.7
Miscellaneous....	450	198	98.7	91.9	98.7	91.9
Total.....	1,288	475	97.8	90.1	97.7	89.5

“Reviewing the whole field of literacy, the following facts are clearly disclosed. More progress in learning English has been made by Japanese employed in or near the centers of Japanese population than by others of the same race who work under other conditions. This is partially due to environment and partially to the fact that many Japanese employed in the cities are of the student class. Compared to the other races employed in similar kinds of work in similar industries, the Japanese appear to have progressed more rapidly than most of the other races, especially the Chinese and Mexicans. This seeming superiority must be discounted somewhat because of two facts: First, that many of

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 157.

the Japanese have had a high school training in Japan, which usually includes a rudimentary knowledge of English grammar, and hence is a great aid in learning to use English; and second, that many Japanese have come to the continental United States by way of the Hawaiian Islands and Canada, where they have had some contact with English-speaking people. None of the other races have had these advantages before immigration. The differences between the Japanese and some of the other races with regard to the learning of English are so great, however, as to justify the statement that the Japanese have acquired the use of the English language more quickly and more eagerly than the Chinese, the Mexicans and some of the European races.”<sup>1</sup>

It may be also added as another channel for assimilation, what the Japanese read apart from Japanese publications. “The American publications subscribed for are largely local daily newspapers of the community in or near which the subscribers live. However, a number of households (in most cases those of the urban Japanese) subscribe for weekly or monthly magazines printed in English. Among these are the *Literary Digest*, the *Independent*, the *Outlook*, the *Review of Reviews*, the *Pacific Monthly*, and *Collier's Weekly*.”<sup>2</sup>

“With regard to their political status in the United States, the Japanese, because of their race, occupy a position essentially different from that of the European immigrants. Under the provisions of the laws of the United States they cannot become citizens by process of naturalization. During the investigation a comparatively large number of the farmers and business classes expressed a desire to become naturalized and expressed regret at the discrimination against persons who do not belong to some white race.”<sup>3</sup>

As to amalgamation. “The race antipathy evidenced by the instances cited above has done much to cause and to perpetuate the clannishness of the Japanese immigrants. The feeling is also very general that marriage between Japanese and white persons should be discouraged. In fact, the strong popular sentiment in this connection has developed into a definite legal prohibition of

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 159-160.

such unions in the State of California, and has been strong enough in the other Western States to prevent any widespread intermarriage between the Japanese and the other races.”<sup>1</sup> In spite of this, there are quite a number of Japanese who have married American girls, especially in the East, where there is no race prejudice against Japanese.

Then as to the religious life of Japanese immigrants. “In every community where any considerable number of Japanese have settled Christian missions have been instituted for their benefit. The membership of the Christian missions, while large and increasing year by year, is smaller than that of the Buddhist missions organizations. These missions are for Japanese alone, a recognition of a difference between them and other races and a condition which lessens their value as an assimilative force.”<sup>2</sup> This last indictment is worthy of serious consideration by all who are interested in religious salvation as well as in real Christianization of Japanese.

Though Japanese are racially ineligible for membership in practically all of the American orders, they are well organized among themselves. The most important of all the Japanese organizations is The Japanese Association of America, a federation of the local Japanese associations which now number no less than fifty scattered all over the State. One of its chief aims is “to promote a better understanding between Japanese and Americans.” This very pamphlet is prepared solely for that purpose. Then there is The Japanese Benevolent Society. It was organized in 1910, with the object of making more complete provision for the care of sick, injured, or unfortunate Japanese.

“With regard to criminal acts, the record of the Japanese immigrants is very good.” “For example, in San Francisco from 1900 to 1907 less than 100 Japanese were reported among the commitments, a remarkably small number if the size of the Japanese population of that city and the number of Greeks, Italians, and others committed are considered.” “Gambling is an evil which is often to be found in the Japanese just as it is found in other ‘camps’ where any large number of laborers live and work

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

together. In connection with the whole matter of law and order it should be noted, however, that the general attitude of the white people is that it is not important what the Asiatics do among themselves, so long as violation of law or disorder does not endanger or inconvenience the members of other races.”<sup>1</sup>

“The Japanese as a race are temperate. Though there is much drinking at restaurants and in ‘camps,’ instances are rare in which drunkenness has interfered with their efficiency in any branch of employment.”<sup>2</sup>

After examining these detailed facts covering over twenty pages, the federal report concludes: “Thus the Japanese have a comparatively small percentage of illiterates among them, are intelligent and eager to learn of American institutions, make a fairly rapid progress in learning to speak English, and unusually good progress in learning to read and write it. They have not proved to be burdensome to the community because of pauperism or crime. Yet the Japanese, like the Chinese, are regarded as differing so greatly from the white races that they have lived in but no integral part of the community. A strong public opinion has segregated them, if not in their work, in the other details of their living, and practically forbids, when not expressed in law, marriage between them and persons of the white race.”<sup>3</sup> So much for the social and political aspects of Japanese immigration.

### *Recapitulation.*

By way of summary, I wish to say:

1. Japanese immigration was insignificant till 1891, when 1,000 of them immigrated for the first time. The number never exceeded 10,000 in any one year but once, and on the whole, formed but less than a drop in the bucket on the basis of general immigration. The agreement of 1907 “has been loyally and rigidly kept by the Japanese foreign office: too rigidly it may be, for even students from Japan bound for American universities, the best bond of peace between the two countries, find it increasingly hard to get their passports.”<sup>4</sup> The Japanese population

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> D. S. Jordan, “What Shall We Say?” p. 69.

has slightly diminished since 1908, when it was estimated at 80,000. The census for 1910 says it was 71,000.

2. The "scums" of Japan never immigrated to the United States. Common laborers formed but 21.4 per cent of the total immigration between 1886 and 1908. "Beaten men of beaten races" could not be applied to the Japanese. To call them "coolies" is to deny facts. Females formed a small portion of the Japanese immigrants, though they formed a larger portion of immigration in more recent years. Ninety-five per cent of Japanese were between 14 and 44 years of age when admitted into the country. The per capita amount of money brought by them is not materially different from that brought by the most well-to-do European immigrants, viz.: English, German, Irish, etc. In California, the illiteracy among Japanese is smallest as compared with that among other foreign-born elements.

3. By far the great majority of Japanese immigrants are confined to the Western States, and in particular to California. But they do not congest. They are scattered all over the State, though the majority are found in rural districts.

4. Occupationally the most important for Japanese is agriculture. Here they are said to be now indispensable. Several thousands are employed by their own merchants and tradesmen. A slightly less number are found in domestic service. Some are employed by railroads. In none of the more important occupations do the Japanese now compete to the detriment of the general standard of living. When similarly occupied, on the whole, the Japanese are earning just as much as anybody else, if not more.

5. The current notion concerning Japanese farming in California is altogether too exaggerated. The farm land owned by them is no more than 12,726 acres, and the amount leased, 17,596. "Because of the circumstances under which they have engaged in farming an unusually large number of the Japanese have failed."

6. Japanese city trades are, indeed, numerous. But most of these are very small-scale enterprises. The total capital invested in these is no more than \$4,000,000 and the total annual transactions, \$16,000,000.

7. In discussion of matters involving personal character, one is apt to become "subjective," but the purpose of this pamphlet is an "objective" study. Therefore, to carry out this purpose I have done no more than to quote at length, the various facts gathered by the Immigration Commission, and which are now made public in three massive volumes of over 2,500 pages. According to this authority, the percentage of illiteracy among Japanese is exceedingly small. They are eager and make strenuous effort to learn of American institutions and to speak, read and write English. In fact, they "have made unusually good progress" in this regard. They are practically free from criminal acts and pauperism. They impose no burden upon the community. The only objection raised is that the Japanese race does not belong to any branch of white races. Such, then, are facts concerning the various aspects of Japanese immigration.

## PART VI.

### ANTI-JAPANESE AGITATION.

In view of the facts surveyed, we will now briefly review the various assertions and allegations frequently made by anti-Japanese agitators. The name of Dr. O'Donnell may be recalled as the first man who raised the cry, "Japs must go," as early as 1887, when there were no more than 400 Japanese in the entire State. These few Japanese could not be made even a municipal political issue. He failed.

The year 1899 saw two events that counted much against Japanese: First, a bubonic plague broke out in San Francisco. Orientals were much blamed for it, for what particular reasons we do not know to this day. Second, there was held a mass meeting under an extravagant name of "Japanese Exclusion" under the auspices of the Building Trades Council and San Francisco Labor Council. Mr. Thomas F. Turner, who doubtless voices the sentiment of these agitators, says, "the Chinese are contract labor coolies, a servile class subjected to the jurisdiction of the Six Companies, with life and death power. They are cheap laborers; deprive the whites of their employment, and also keep out the white immigrants from the State; they are loathsome in their habits and filthy in their dwellings; and vile in their morals." "They (Japanese) are more servile than the Chinese, but less obedient and far less desirable. They have most of the vices of the Chinese with none of their virtues. They underbid in everything, and as a class tricky, unreliable and dishonest."<sup>1</sup> This was written in 1901.

In 1905 The Asiatic Exclusion League, then known as The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, was organized and O. E. Tveitmoe was made its president. He is still with it. Who he is need not be told. He is too famous for that. The League, however, has already caused a great deal of unnecessary unpleasantness. The "School Question" of 1906 was entirely due to their activity. The entire number of Japanese children attending the

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<sup>1</sup> "Chinese and Japanese Labor in the Mountain and Pacific States," in Reports of Industrial Commission, Vol. 15, p. 387.

public schools then was no more than 92, and these were scattered in 20 different schools. Besides, the report of Secretary Metcalf, who was sent here by President Roosevelt to investigate, says :

“Many of the foremost educators in the State, on the other hand, are strongly opposed to the action of the San Francisco Board of Education. Japanese are admitted to the University of California, an institution maintained and supported by the State. They are also admitted to, and gladly welcomed at, Stanford University. San Francisco, so far as known, is the only city which has discriminated against Japanese children. I talked with a number of prominent labor men, and they all said that they had no objection to Japanese children attending the primary grades; that they wanted the Japanese children now in the United States to have the same school, to have the same school privileges as children of other nations. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

The smashing of Japanese restaurants was also encouraged by the same League. And the municipal government was then in the hands of Schmitz and Ruef.

Their agitation work has been much aided by certain politicians. Mr. Kahn, who has been consistently decrying against Asiatic immigration, among other things because of their ignorance, when the Burnett-Dillingham Bill with the literacy test came before the House, he pleaded for admission of illiterates. He further said, “Restriction of immigration is not a new subject, and the present agitation is but a recrudescence of anti-foreign agitation that has occurred from the very beginning of our government.” Yet he himself has been a strenuous campaigner against Japanese immigration. Wonderful is the logic of some politicians!

But more specifically brings Mr. E. A. Hayes charges against Japanese. Here is a set of wholesale charges. “A close acquaintance shows one that unblushing lying is so universal among the Japanese as to be one of the leading national traits; that commercial honor, even among her commercial classes, is so rare as to be only the exception that proves the reverse rule, and that the vast majority of the Japanese people do not understand the meaning of the word ‘morality,’ but are given up to practice of

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in H. B. Johnson, “Discrimination Against Japanese in California,” p. 99.

licentiousness more generally than in any nation in the world justly making any pretense to civilization. I am told by those who have lived in Japan and understand its language that there is no word in Japanese corresponding to 'sin,' because there is in the ordinary Japanese mind no conception of its meaning. There is no word corresponding to the word 'home,' because there is nothing in the Japanese domestic life corresponding to the home as we know it. The Japanese language has no term for 'privacy.' They lack the term and the clear idea because they lack the practice." These words are taken from his speech made before the House on March 13, 1906, under the title of "Japanese Exclusion."

I am afraid that the opening sentence has to include Mr. Hayes himself. At its best, it is the case of a pot calling a kettle black. If what is said is true, how was the tremendous growth of Japanese commerce during the last fifty years accomplished? By lying, I suppose. As to the meaning of the word "morality," I should like to suggest a reading of Dr. Nitobe's *Bushido*. It is exquisitely written, though by a native of Japan. Those who informed Mr. Hayes evidently do not understand Japanese language. The Japanese word "tsumi" exactly corresponds to "sin," while "uchi" and "naisho" correspond respectively to "home" and "privacy." I have purposely given the colloquial terms, because they are understood universally. It is better not to pretend to be wise about things we are absolutely ignorant.

I am, indeed, sorry to own that prostitution does exist in Japan. Is America free from it? The vice commission of Chicago and the recent investigation of "white slavery" in New York will furnish an abundance of materials to Messrs. Hayes of Japan to effectively indict American morality. "The man of the world finds the Japanese immoral, not remembering that vice is everywhere near him that seeks it," says Dr. Jordan. At any rate, I refuse to be a Mr. Hayes, here or in Japan.

Then he arrays the kind of statistics that will prove anything. "I am giving statistics showing the relative wages of the Mongolian, especially the Japanese, and the white man. And I want to say, in passing, that these statistics were gathered by the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League of San Francisco. I

can not vouch for their accuracy, but have no doubt that they are substantially correct." Imagine what follows from such authentic sources. Enough has been said on this point already, and we shall not honor Mr. Hayes in quoting from him further.

Nor need I enumerate reasons for the existence of The Asiatic Exclusion League and agitators against Japanese. They are guided neither by patriotism nor even by chauvinism, but by money-getting and vote-getting motives. Accordingly, they play with mobs with their mob psychology, and they have already done much mischief which now and then strained the friendly relation between the United States and Japan. Will the intelligent American public tolerate continuance of their vile agitation to make Japanese haters of Americans just to convenience selfish interests of a few unscrupulous individuals, when their immigration was practically stopped in 1907?

"What shall be say of Japanese immigration? Only this: There is no problem now, and if we let well enough alone there will be no problem in the future." "All the Japanese ask for is to be spared the humiliation involved in any scheme for the exclusion of Asiatics as Asiatics. This is a matter of national sensitiveness to a highly cultivated and sensitive people; and needlessly to hurt such a nation is to hurt ourselves. For the lines of commerce run in grooves of international friendliness. An indirect exclusion act, as of races not eligible for citizenship, is more humiliating than a direct act would be. It implies that the Japanese cannot read between the lines. Exclusion from citizenship, for which discrimination no adequate cause exists, is of the nature of insult in itself. To shut out because they have been insulted once adds doubly to a humiliation they have no power to resent, but which they hope their nearest friends among the nations will not offer them."<sup>1</sup> I may humbly add that in the granting of the right of naturalization to the Japanese lies the fundamental and permanent solution of the so-called Japanese problem. The agitation cannot then continue to exist. Votes will silence them. Justice and fairness have to be accorded to Japanese as they are now accorded to immigrants from other nations. And this is all we ask of fair-minded Americans.

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<sup>1</sup> D. S. Jordan, "What Shall We Say?" pp. 69 and 70.



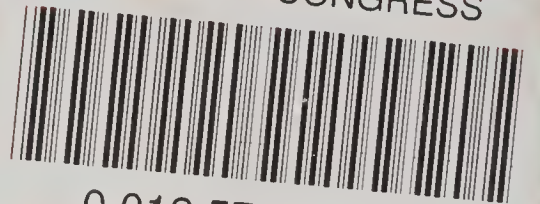








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